PAPERS

RELATING TO AN

INTERVIEW

BETWEEN

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE COLONIES

AND

GENERALS BOTHA, DE WET, AND DE LA REY,

ON

SEPTEMBER 5th, 1902.

No. 1.

GENERALS BOTHA, DE WET, and DE LA REY to MR. CHAMBERLAIN.
(Received 10.15 p.m., August 20, 1902.)

TELEGRAM.

[*Answered by No.* 2.]

As having been decided after consultation with Mrs. Meyer that the funeral of the late General Meyer shall not, as anticipated, take place forthwith in Europe we are free to resume the course we had originally laid down for ourselves, viz., to request to be favoured with an opportunity of meeting your Excellency to submit and discuss questions of the greatest importance and interest to our country and people, we are prepared to return to London forthwith for the purpose, and would be pleased to ascertain when it would suit your Excellency to give us an audience to lay before you the matter referred to; we would be pleased, if such should suit your convenience, if a meeting could be arranged early in the following week, but we hold ourselves completely at your disposal, trusting that, in view of the urgency of the matter, your Excellency will be pleased to grant us the desired interview at as early a date as possible. Kindly send reply to Brussels.

No. 2.

MR. CHAMBERLAIN to HIS MAJESTY'S MINISTER AT BRUSSELS.
(Sent 6.30 p.m., August 21, 1902.)

TELEGRAM.

[*Answered by Nos.* 3 *and* 4.]

Please communicate following to Generals Botha, de la Rey, and de Wet:—

Begins: "I had hoped to have preliminary discussion with Generals on board 'Nigeria' if they had been able to accept invitation; failing this Lord Roberts under-

took to arrange interview at Colonial Office on 2nd September at 3 o'clock. If convenient to them I will come up to London to meet them.

"I should like to know beforehand the subjects on which they wish to see me. If they will send list to Colonial Office I will get all information and shall be able to deal with them without delay which would be necessary if I have no knowledge of their wishes beforehand." *Ends.*

No. 3.

GENERALS BOTHA, DE WET, and DE LA REY to MR. CHAMBERLAIN.

(Despatched, 5.5. Received, Colonial Office, 6.6 p.m., August 22, 1902.)

TELEGRAM.

Your Excellency's telegram of 21st instant* we have received with thanks. We shall be pleased to meet you on the 2nd of September next as proposed by your Excellency. We shall acquaint your Excellency as soon as possible with the points that we would like to discuss with you.

No. 4.

GENERALS BOTHA, DE WET, and DE LA REY to MR. CHAMBERLAIN.

[*Answered by No.* 5.]

SIR, The Hague, Holland, August 23, 1902.

WE have the honour to acknowledge receipt of your Excellency's telegram of the 21st instant,* and in compliance with the request contained therein, we beg herewith to inform you that the principal subjects which we wish, in furtherance of the views and wishes of our people expressed to us, to submit to your consideration, and discuss with your Excellency, are the following :—

1st.—Respectfully to submit a petition for complete amnesty for all British subjects who have taken part with us in the late war, and pardon for all persons convicted for acts committed during the war in connection therewith.

2nd.—To seek to obtain a yearly grant or sufficient allowance for the maintenance and support of the widows and orphans of burgers and of maimed burgers unable to support themselves.

3rd.—To submit that equal rights should be accorded to the English and Dutch languages in schools and Courts of Law.

4th.—To submit that rights, equal to those accorded to British subjects, should be conceded to burgers of the late Republics and their families who have complied with the terms of surrender, or are prepared to comply therewith, including the right of immediate return to South Africa of all burgers who may desire to do so; also the immediate release of all prisoners of war who desire to be released, and are in a position to support themselves.

In connexion herewith, to obtain acknowledgment of equal consideration for all those who obtained the rights of burgership, whether before or during the war.

5th.—The reinstatement of officials of the late Republics in the Service, or their compensation for loss of office.

6th.—Compensation for all loss occasioned by British troops by use, removal, burning, destruction, &c., of all private property of the inhabitants of the late Republics.

7th.—The reinstatement of inhabitants in the ownership of their farms, confiscated or sold in terms of the Proclamation of 7th August 1901.

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* No. 2.

Shri Brihad Bharatiya Samaj

on 31 October, 2019

8th.—Compensation for the use of properties of burghers taken possession of by the British authorities.

9th.—Payment of lawful obligations of the late Republics, including those incurred during the war.

10th.—To rescind the decision whereby a portion of the Transvaal is proposed to be cut off and added to the Colony of Natal.

11th.—To grant extension of time of payment of all debts due by burgers to the Governments of the late Republics, and to secure to them the benefits of Article 10 of the "Terms of Surrender."

Furthermore, we shall take the liberty of submitting, in connection with the carrying out of the "Terms of Surrender":—

(A) A protest against, and request for the abolition of, the compulsory administration of the oath of allegiance to burghers of the late Republics, in contravention of Article 2 of those Terms.

(B) To submit considerations against the Commissions as at present constituted under Article 10 of the Terms.

In connection herewith we have the honour to enclose herein, for your Excellency's consideration, a copy of a letter addressed by General Botha to his Excellency Lord Milner, on the 29th July last.

(C) To seek for elucidation as to the intent of and assurances regarding the free grant under Article 10 of the terms.

Besides the foregoing, there are other matters which we would be pleased to be allowed to submit for your Excellency's consideration, but which we do not for the present deem necessary to specify more particularly herein.

We beg to confirm the telegram of General Botha of 22nd instant,* intimating on his and on our behalf, that it will afford us pleasure to attend on your Excellency on the 2nd September proximo, at 3 p.m., at the Colonial Office.

We have, &c.,

LOUIS BOTHA.
C. R. DE WET.
J. H. DE LA REY.

The Right Hon. the Secretary of State for the Colonies,
London.

Enclosure in No. 4.

General BOTHA to Viscount MILNER.

(Translation.)

EXCELLENCY, Cape Town, July 29, 1902.

I FEEL obliged to write to your Excellency with the object of preventing dissatisfaction in the Transvaal, which will certainly come if changes are not made.

The members of the Commissions appointed in accordance with the terms of peace, and whose names are published in the Government Gazette, are not only men who have not sufficient practical experience of farming, but they are not sufficiently appointed out of those people who fall under the treatment of these Commissions. That every magistrate must be on the Commission is in terms of the agreement, but why a captain of constabulary must be a member I do not understand. Further, also, an injustice is done us by persons being placed on these important Commissions who were unfaithful to their former Government and people. During our negotiations your Excellency stated distinctly, in reply to a question by Advocate J. C. Smuts, that no one except those who were on the veldt up to the last and prisoners of war would draw any benefit out of the free gift of 3,000,000*l*. The appointment of such persons causes unnecessary friction and dissatisfaction.

If your Excellency does not trust us, then appoint Englishmen, but not men who have already been unfaithful towards those whom they now must help and over whom they are now placed.

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* No. 3.

I pray your Excellency appoint more men out of the people on these Commissions. Place more faith in our people, and do not treat them as enemies. If the Commissions cannot gain the support and trust of those who must be assisted out of the three millions, then I fear that this amount will ultimately not help the people more than the amount paid for the liberation of slaves in the Cape Colony.

Further, I beseech your Excellency not to demand the oath of allegiance from burghers, prisoners of war in or out of South Africa. We agreed distinctly that the oath of allegiance would not be demanded, and notwithstanding this, taking the oath of allegiance is made a condition for the return of prisoners of war in as well as out of South Africa. Demanding the oath of allegiance from prisoners of war is directly in conflict with the Treaty of Peace, and Your Excellency will understand that the taking of this oath is most hurtful, more particularly to those burghers from whom it can be expected that they will be the best subjects of His Majesty's Government. The person who is compelled to take an unnecessary oath of allegiance certainly has grounded reasons of dissatisfaction. I therefore request your Excellency kindly, but also urgently, to give instructions that all prisoners of war be allowed to return to their residences without being required to take the oath.

It is my duty to bring something else to your Excellency's notice. When I was recently in a concentration camp in Natal I saw something that hurt me particularly, viz., that some of our women were obliged themselves to carry their fuel, consisting of large blocks (of wood) the long distance from the station to the camp. This was so painful to me that I spoke with the Camp Commandant, as well as with Sir Thomas Murray, about it. I trust that your Excellency will have such provision made that it will not be necessary for women to perform such hard labour. If I can do something in this matter it will be an honour and a pleasure to me.

After mature consideration I wish respectfully to make the following proposal in connection with the various concentration camps. That all concentration camps outside of the Transvaal be broken up, and the inmates be transferred to a camp in the district from where they come. Where a district is not connected with the railway, the camp can be placed at the nearest railway station, and then from out of these camps the people can gradually, and much more easily than now, be removed to their farms. This will help very much to remove the dissatisfaction from the camps. It will also be very good if more facilities be granted to families who can return to their homes by supplying them with free passes to travel on the railway in proper carriages, and not in open trucks. I think we can expect that the railway, but for absolutely necessary traffic, shall in the first place be used for bringing these families back to their residences again.

I have, &c.,
LOUIS BOTHA.

His Excellency Lord Milner,
Governor of the Transvaal,
High Commissioner for South Africa, &c.
Johannesburg.

No. 5.

MR. CHAMBERLAIN to GENERALS BOTHA, DE WET, and DE LA REY.

[*Answered by Nos. 6 and 7.*]

GENTLEMEN, Colonial Office, August 28, 1902.

I AM honoured by the receipt of your letter* from The Hague, in which you favour me with a list of subjects on which you desire to confer with me at our proposed meeting on 2nd September.

Both the number and the character of these proposals have greatly surprised me, and I feel that before any interview takes place it is desirable, and even necessary, that I should have some further explanation of your views.

In order to make the position clear I beg leave to remind you of the history of recent negotiations.

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* No. 4.

In March 1901, after a conference with General Botha, Lord Kitchener submitted to him the conditions on which His Majesty's Government were then prepared to accept the surrender of the Boer forces in the field.

These conditions were refused and military operations continued until April 1902, when the representatives of the Boer commandos requested a meeting with Lord Kitchener in order to submit to him proposals for peace.

A conference was accordingly arranged, and ultimately His Majesty's Government authorised Lord Kitchener to say that they were still willing to accept a general surrender on the lines of the offer made in March 1901, but with such modifications as might be mutually agreed upon.

Finally, after further meetings between the Boer representatives and Lord Kitchener and Lord Milner, terms were agreed upon, which were submitted to an Assembly of Burghers at Vereeniging, and having been accepted by them were signed by their authorised leaders and by Lord Kitchener and Lord Milner on behalf of His Majesty's Government.

In regard to these terms I will only say that there is no parallel in history for conditions so generous granted by a victorious belligerent to its opponents.

It is the desire and firm intention of His Majesty's Government to observe the terms so arranged in the spirit as well as in the letter, and if you have any representations to make on this subject, or if you consider that the interpretation of them is in any respect open to question, I shall be ready, on behalf of His Majesty's Government, to give the fullest consideration to your observations and to endeavour to remove all possible doubts on this subject.

But I observe that the proposals in your letter, numbered 1 to 11, constitute together a suggestion for an entirely new agreement, in many points inconsistent with and even contradictory to the conditions accepted and signed by the Boer delegates on 31st May 1902.

It would not be in accordance with my duty to enter upon any discussion of proposals of this kind, some of which were rejected at the conferences at Pretoria; while others, which were not even mentioned on that occasion, would certainly not have been accepted at any time by His Majesty's Government.

Both parties to the agreement for terminating hostilities are equally bound by its terms, and I feel obliged, in order to prevent any possible misunderstanding, to make it clear that I have no power to reopen any of the points then settled as to the repatriation of prisoners of war, amnesty to rebels, the use of the Dutch language, and the grants of money and loans to the people of the Transvaal and Orange River Colony, indispensable to the resumption of their normal occupations. I have already said that I am ready to consider any representations that you may desire to make in regard to the way in which the conditions are being carried out, and I may add that I shall willingly receive any suggestions which, as loyal subjects of His Majesty King Edward VII., you may wish to offer for the future administration of this portion of his dominions, but it would be quite impossible for me to reopen in any way the agreement which, after full discussion, was only signed three months ago.

I shall be much obliged if you will, on receipt of this letter, inform me by telegraph whether you accept the interview on the above conditions.

Waiting your further communication,

I am, &c.,
J. CHAMBERLAIN.

No. 6.

General BOTHA to Mr. CHAMBERLAIN.

(Received 1.16 p.m., August 30, 1902.)

TELEGRAM.

[*Answered by No.* 8.]

We have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your Excellency's telegram* and letter of 28th instant.† As we are on the point of leaving for London, we propose to

* Not printed: to The Hague, announcing despatch of No. 5. † No. 5.

avail ourselves of your suggestion by furnishing you on Monday with some further explanation of our views, which we trust will meet the difficulty raised by your Excellency and obtain for us the early personal interview we deem so necessary.

No. 7.

GENERALS BOTHA, DE WET, and DE LA REY to MR. CHAMBERLAIN.
(Received September 1, 1902.)

[*Answered by No.* 8.]

Horrex's Hotel, Norfolk Street, Strand,
September 1, 1902.

SIR,

WE have the honour to confirm our telegram to your Excellency of the 30th ultimo,* reading as follows:—

> "We have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your Excellency's telegram and letter of the 28th instant.† As we are on the point of leaving for London, we propose to avail ourselves of your suggestion by furnishing you on Monday with some further explanation of our views, which we trust will meet the difficulty raised by your Excellency, and obtain for us the early personal interview we deem so necessary."

As we are most anxious to avoid all needless controversy, we do not propose to traverse herein any part of your Excellency's statement as to the history of events leading up to the negotiations for surrender or as to the generous nature of the terms granted.

In giving effect to your Excellency's desire that we should furnish you with some further explanation of our views, we beg to remind you that the terms of surrender were placed before us by way of ultimatum. We were distinctly informed that they had to be either accepted or rejected in their entirety, without addition, omission, or modification within a definite and strictly limited time. To avoid further bloodshed the representatives of our people decided, in terms of the resolution embodying their reasons for so doing, to accept those terms.

The condition created by the accepted terms of surrender put an end to the status of the representatives of the late Republics to act as negotiators or contracting parties on behalf of those Republics, and with them we submit ourselves to the position so created.

With the concurrence and at the request of the former representatives of our people, however, we at once resolved that what neither time nor circumstances allowed us to claim or obtain as contracting parties, submitting to superior force, we should endeavour as soon as possible to plead for, and if possible to procure, as subjects of His Majesty seeking for clemency for those who had cast in their lot with us, and for just treatment for ourselves.

In deciding to accept the Terms of Surrender we relied on the assurances given us both by Lord Milner and by Lord Kitchener that in so doing we would not be debarred from seeking, as subjects, to obtain from His Majesty or His Majesty's Government due consideration of all matters which we deemed detrimentally to affect the interests, welfare, and rights of our fellow subjects in the new Colonies. Their Lordships furthermore whilst stating that it was beyond their power to grant amnesty to those already undergoing punishment for acts done during the year, on the ground that this belonged to the prerogative of His Majesty the King, declared their readiness and intention to make representations favouring the granting of such amnesty, and we would crave to be allowed an opportunity to support any representations already made by their Lordships in this connection.

We feel the less scruple in soliciting the honour of an interview wherein we shall be allowed to submit for your Excellency's consideration, and discuss with you, the subjects already at your Excellency's request enumerated in a previous letter, because we feel convinced that thereby we would at the same time be offering to your

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* No. 6.

† No. 5.

Excellency suggestions conducive to the successful future administration of the two new Colonies, which your Excellency has expressed your willingness to receive from us.

We fully endorse your Excellency's statement that both parties to the agreement for terminating hostilities are equally bound by the terms thereof, and we wish to assure you that we do not seek to meet you as parties claiming the right to contract anew or to substitute a modified agreement for the existing one, but only, as already stated, as subjects of His Majesty seeking to obtain a fair hearing and, as we respectfully submit, clemency and justice.

We wish respectfully and cannot too earnestly impress on your Excellency our solemn conviction that on the granting of our prayer for clemency and of a substantial measure of compensation, aid, and relief to our people—lately burghers of the two Republics—will to a great extent depend their welfare and happiness, and the prosperity of the country.

We trust that in making it clear to your Excellency that we are not seeking to approach His Majesty's Government in a capacity which we no longer have a right to assume, that we have succeeded in removing any doubt or difficulty that your Excellency may have entertained in granting our request for a personal interview on the points specified in our previous letter.

We are glad of the intimation of your Excellency's readiness to allow us to make representations, which we are most anxious to do, as to the manner in which effect is being given to the terms of the agreement, as we respectfully submit, contrary to the letter and spirit thereof.

It will afford us great gratification to be allowed the personal interview to-morrow (Tuesday) afternoon with your Excellency as previously arranged.

We have, &c.
LOUIS BOTHA.
C. R. DE WET.
J. H. DE LA REY.

The Right Hon. the Secretary of State for the Colonies,
Downing Street.

No. 8.

MR. CHAMBERLAIN to GENERALS BOTHA, DE WET, and DE LA REY.
[*Answered by No.* 9.]

GENTLEMEN, Birmingham, September 1, 1902.

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your telegram of the 30th August and of your letter of 1st September.*

I regret to find that in this letter you do not accept the condition which I felt it my duty to make as a necessary preliminary to any official interview, namely, that there should be no attempt to reopen the agreement which was signed in Pretoria only three months ago.

On that occasion, actuated by motives of humanity, His Majesty's Government authorised Lord Kitchener and Lord Milner to agree to terms of unprecedented liberality, and it would be unfair to you to allow you for one moment to suppose that any good result could follow from an attempt to obtain better terms than were then conceded. As you yourselves remind me in the letter under reply, the conditions were in the nature of an ultimatum, which it was open to you to accept or refuse, but which His Majesty's Government were in no case prepared to alter. In the opinion of His Majesty's Government these terms included a substantial measure of aid relief to those burghers who were in need of it, and went as far in the direction of clemency as justice to His Majesty's loyal subjects would possibly admit.

I am unable to communicate with Lord Milner or Lord Kitchener in time for this reply, but from the communications received from their Lordships at the time of the

* Nos. 6 and 7.

Conferences I am under the impression that they both considered the terms then arranged by them as final, and that they did not anticipate any attempt on your part to ask for modifications so vital as those contained in the list of subjects that you have been good enough to forward to me.

In any case, I feel obliged to adhere to my former decision, and, while ready to discuss with you the questions indicated in my letter of the 28th ultimo †, I think it necessary to ask you for a formal assurance that you will not raise any subject inconsistent with the settlement arrived at in Pretoria.

On receipt of such an assurance I would endeavour to arrange for the presence of Lord Kitchener at an interview to be subsequently arranged at a time to suit your convenience, and which I should make it my special duty to attend, but I could not accept a meeting under circumstances which could only lead to disappointment and misunderstanding.

I have, &c.,
J. CHAMBERLAIN.

No. 9.

GENERALS BOTHA, DE WET, and DE LA REY to MR. CHAMBERLAIN.
(Received September 3, 1902.)

Horrex's Hotel, Norfolk Street, Strand,
SIR, September 3, 1902.

WE have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your Excellency's letter of the 1st instant.*

There is much in that letter which we would respectfully wish to controvert, but it would probably serve no good purpose to seek to do so at present herein.

We deeply regret that your Excellency should feel obliged to adhere to your former decision that to grant us a personal interview on several of the subjects which we wished to submit for your consideration and discuss with you would be a reopening of the agreement of surrender which was signed in Pretoria three months ago. Those subjects appear to us to be of such overwhelming importance in relation to the future welfare of the people and the proper administration of the country, that we wish and deem it our duty to reserve for a future occasion the making of further representation in writing to your Excellency thereon, although necessarily less fully and satisfactorily than would have been the case had we been allowed to do so personally.

Seeing that for the present your Excellency's resolve remains unaltered, and forced by the circumstances in which we are placed, we are prepared to give the required formal assurance that we submit ourselves to the conditions imposed on us not to raise any subject, in the personal interview to be accorded us by your Excellency, which according to your Excellency's letter to us of the 28th ultimo,† you hold to be inconsistent with the terms of surrender agreed to at Pretoria.

We are pleased to learn that it is your Excellency's intention that Lord Kitchener should be present when we have the honour of meeting you.

We beg to be favoured with an intimation as to the earliest date on which it would suit your Excellency's convenience to grant us the interview sought for.

We have, &c.,
LOUIS BOTHA.
J. H. DE LA REY.
C. R. DE WET.

The Right Hon. the Secretary of State for the Colonies,
Downing Street.

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* No. 8.

† No. 5.

No. 10.

SHORTHAND REPORT OF THE INTERVIEW HELD AT THE COLONIAL OFFICE ON SEPTEMBER 5, 1902, AT 3 PM.

PRESENT:

The Right Honourable J. CHAMBERLAIN, M.P., Secretary of State for the Colonies.

The Right Honourable The Earl of ONSLOW, Under Secretary of State for the Colonies.

The Right Honourable Viscount KITCHENER.

Mr. FREDERICK GRAHAM, Assistant Under Secretary of State.

Commandant-General LOUIS BOTHA.

Chief Commandant-General CHRISTIAN DE WET.

Assistant Commandant-General J. H. DE LA REY.

Mr. J. H. de VILLIERS, the Interpreter.

The SECRETARY OF STATE: Well, gentlemen, I am glad to see you, and, subject of course to the conditions which I felt obliged to make, I shall be very glad to hear anything that you wish to say.

The INTERPRETER: General Botha says that with regard to the first letter he wrote he just wants to make one remark. He thinks that you were under a wrong impression. That it was not their intention to alter the terms of the agreement, the terms of surrender, in any way at all.

The SECRETARY OF STATE: I am very glad to hear it.

The INTERPRETER: And what they were going to say with regard to those articles was simply because they know the people of South Africa, and it was only with that object of a better administration of the country. A very important point to them was the point of amnesty, and he understands that a Commission of Inquiry has been sent to South Africa to investigate all those cases, and they will now make it a special point to tell some gentlemen in South Africa to bring everything that can be said on behalf of those men before your Commission of Inquiry.

The SECRETARY OF STATE: I think, in order to prevent any misunderstanding, I ought to make it quite clear to General Botha exactly what we have done. Of our own accord, quite voluntarily, without any application having been made to us, we decided to appoint this Commission, but the object of the Commission is simply to examine into all those cases of sentences upon rebels which are not yet expired. In the case, for instance, of a man who has been sentenced, let us say, to five years' imprisonment which is not yet expired, his case will be reviewed by this Commission, but in the case of sentences which have expired, for instance, where a man was condemned to a short period of imprisonment which he has served, and the sentence has expired, the Commission has no power to go back upon that, or to interfere in any way. And then we have given to this Commission power to call evidence where they think it to be necessary, but the ordinary course will not be to re-try all these cases, many hundreds in number, but they will look at all the papers, the account of the evidence, the decision that has been given, and only if they think that further evidence is necessary in order to arrive at a just conclusion will they call witnesses. In all other cases they will judge from the papers whether or not they should recommend a total or a partial amnesty.

The INTERPRETER: General Botha says he is glad to be made clear on that point. General Botha says that he has been told by the Natal Government that with regard to the Natal rebels who have not been tried as yet, and

who are still in the Transvaal territory, correspondence has taken place between the Natal Government and the Colonial Office.

The SECRETARY OF STATE: I will inquire what information I have received from the Natal Government; but perhaps General Botha will tell me what he understands the effect of this communication has been and what argument he wants to draw from it.

The INTERPRETER: General Botha says that he went to Natal after peace had been declared and said that peace had to be made for all, to try and move the Natal Government to give them amnesty in the same way as the Cape Government, and the Governor and the Prime Minister said to General Botha that they were inclined to give amnesty, but they were still in correspondence with the Colonial Office on the subject.

The SECRETARY OF STATE: General Botha knows, because the matter was discussed at Pretoria when the Convention was signed, and we stated, or Lord Kitchener or Lord Milner stated on behalf of the Imperial Government, that in the case of Natal rebels we could not interfere with the action of the self-governing Colony, and it would remain with the Natal Government entirely how their rebels should be treated. That is the case still. It is not a matter for us: it is a matter for the Natal Government, and it would probably be satisfactory to General Botha to know that the Natal Government had behaved with very great magnanimity, and they have already, and without waiting for any report of our Commission, amnestied, or reduced the sentences of, I think, a considerable number of the rebels, who had been charged. Is that not so, Mr. Graham?

Mr. GRAHAM: That is so.

The INTERPRETER: General Botha says he merely referred to it because he was referred to this office in connection with the amnesty. Of course, you must understand that this is a very delicate question, the question of amnesty, and that they were rather disappointed, after the promise given to them by Lord Kitchener, that at the time of the Coronation Lord Kitchener would make a recommendation to the Government. They were rather disappointed that these men were not amnestied at the time of the King's Coronation.

The SECRETARY OF STATE: Before asking Lord Kitchener to answer General Botha upon that point, I would say in the papers which have come to us, and which are printed, and of which the General has, no doubt, copies, there is no reference whatever to anything of that kind, and, on the contrary, a statement was made to the Generals and to the signatories of the agreement. After handing to them a copy of the draft agreement the following statement was read to them dealing with this question of amnesty. What was then stated was that His Majesty's Government must place it on record that the treatment of the Cape and Natal colonists who had been in rebellion and who now surrender will if they return to their colonies be determined by the Colonial Governments, and in accordance with the laws of the colonies, and that any British subjects who shall have joined the enemy will be liable to trial under the law of that part of the British Empire to which they belong.

The statement then goes on to repeat the terms which the Cape Government had declared that they would grant in the case of rebels, and it finally says: "The Natal Government are of opinion that rebels should be dealt with "according to the law of the Colony." That is the whole of the undertaking of which His Majesty's Government have any cognisance whatsoever; I will put the papers in your hand, and you can translate it.

LORD KITCHENER: I think General Botha knows it was—I should like to say that that statement is the final statement about the amnesty question which was given, and must be considered as the only one which was in any way binding on us or had anything to do with what we, Lord Milner and myself, spoke of at the time. It was clearly understood that that finally settled the question. That statement was the last statement we made at the end of the Conference. What subsequently passed between General Botha and the Government of Natal I do not know of.

The INTERPRETER: General Botha says he admits that statement referred to by Mr. Chamberlain.

The SECRETARY OF STATE: And then, will General Botha allow me to call his attention to another subject. This is from a speech delivered by Mr. Schalk Burger, who was one of the signatories of the agreement, at a place called Hawick, and he said:—"As regards paragraph 4, which states "that no proceedings, civil or criminal, will be taken against burghers "surrendering. I must point out to you that rebels, both in the Cape Colony "and Natal will have to stand their trials, and the Cape rebels who plead "guilty to high treason will be only deprived of the franchise, with the excep- "tion of the leaders, who will be at the mercy of the Court, but in no case will "the death sentence be enforced. In Natal rebels will be punished in accord- "ance with the ordinary laws." I call the attention of General Botha to that, because it shows that a considerable time after the agreement was signed, Mr. Schalk Burger was perfectly well aware of the exact terms which had been arranged, and of course we do not wish to go beyond that.

The INTERPRETER: General Botha says he does not dispute that. The only thing that he wanted to call Lord Kitchener's attention to, was promises made for recommendation at the time of the Coronation for amnesty.

The SECRETARY OF STATE: Perhaps it would satisfy General Botha if I say that so far as the action of the Government of Natal and of the Government of the Cape is concerned, certainly this Government—the Imperial Government—will not interfere in order to hinder any generous intentions which they may have in regard to the rebels in these Colonies.

The INTERPRETER: He says that he thanks you very much for those words, and his only object was that the British Government should show the magnanimity so as to enable us all to live in peace in future in South Africa. The second point is with regard to the burghers of Ceylon and St. Helena and elsewhere. General Botha says there are a great many of these burghers who are now refused permission to return to South Africa.

Lord KITCHENER: It is only a question of waiting until martial law is over.

The INTERPRETER: General Botha wishes to explain himself. Wherever they go they meet burghers of the same who were early in the war; others who have been allowed by the British Government and military authorities to go to Europe, and so on, and it is natural that these men are very anxious to get to their wives and families who are in some cases in the camps.

Lord ONSLOW: Have they applied for permission?

The INTERPRETER: Some have applied. He only speaks of those people who can support themselves. They will not be a burden.

The SECRETARY OF STATE: I quite understand, but I think there must be some misunderstanding or misapprehension, and at all events the only way in which we could properly deal with a question of that kind would be by taking each case on its merits. It is very difficult to deal with it as a

general question, where we do not know the details; but I will just read to General Botha the instructions I have myself given in the matter, and I think he will see they are all that could be expected under the circumstances. As he knows, and nobody better, it is impossible in the existing state of the new colonies to allow everybody to go back at once. There are many people still in the camps and elsewhere, and they cannot go back, because it must take a little while to make the necessary preparations, otherwise there must be great distress amongst them, and therefore we are obliged to take precautions, not because we want to keep them back, but in their own interests, in order that when they come back they may have means of livelihood. Perhaps you will explain that, and I will read this after.

I will read to you a telegram I sent on the 10th July to Lord Milner on this subject:—

> "I propose to adopt the following course with regard to ex-burghers wishing to return to South Africa: Each applicant for a permit to land would be required to give full information as to his burghership, place of residence in South Africa, &c., and I will send out to you by each mail the applications received. You are to reply stating in which cases you approve of issue of permit and state your reasons in cases where you do not approve. Those of whom you approve will then receive permits on their signing declaration in the form prescribed. Procedure in the case of prisoners of war on parole will be the same, except that where they cannot pay their own expenses they will be given third class passages on transports."

Now, I should add to that, that some precaution is necessary to prevent imposture, otherwise we may have people who are not burghers at all claiming to go back, and that although I asked Lord Milner to let me know in any case in which he did not approve, up to the present time he has not disapproved of any application.

The INTERPRETER: General Botha says there is one case, for example, that of Mr. Wessels, a member of the former deputation, who has been refused permission to go back to South Africa.

The SECRETARY OF STATE: No, that is not so.

General BOTHA: Yes, I have got letters.

The SECRETARY OF STATE: I think, General, you must be mistaken; there has been no refusal.

General BOTHA: He was referred to Lord Milner, and Lord Milner referred him to you.

The SECRETARY OF STATE: I will get the papers.

General BOTHA: I saw the papers.

The SECRETARY OF STATE: I will just inquire. As regards Mr. Wessels, he has not been refused, but has only been told that the case was still under consideration, they could not give an immediate answer. I think perhaps in any ordinary case there would be no difficulty whatever about the return of gentlemen who are ex-burghers and who under any circumstances had come to Europe during the war. I say under ordinary circumstances. Of course the Government must keep in its own hands the right to prevent the return of people whom they believe to be disloyal and who have not frankly accepted the Terms of Peace. General Botha will, I am sure, like me, speak freely. Some members, or one member at any rate, of the delegation that signed the Terms of Peace, is reported to have used language which is not consistent with the declaration that he then made, that he would accept King Edward VII. as his true and lawful ruler.

The INTERPRETER: One member of the——

The SECRETARY OF STATE: One member of those who signed the Terms of Peace. I do not think there should be any holding back of names—I refer to Mr. Reitz. We want to be friends, but the friendship must be on both sides, and where anyone gives us reason to believe that he will not be friendly if he returns to South Africa, we will do our best to prevent him from returning. But with regard to those whom we believe to be perfectly honest and straightforward with us we think there will be no difficulty in their early return to their country.

The INTERPRETER: General Botha says he hopes you are not visiting the sins of one man on others. If one man says anything foolish let him suffer for it alone; he does not know anything about the statement of Mr. Reitz. General Botha hopes you will not think it amiss if he says this, that he would like you to trust them.

The SECRETARY OF STATE: To trust whom?

The INTERPRETER: To trust himself, and the others, and the people in general who have surrendered—who have come in.

The SECRETARY OF STATE: We have accepted all that they have agreed to as having been agreed to in perfect good faith, and until they give us any reason to doubt them we shall place entire trust in them.

The INTERPRETER: General Botha says that those people who can support themselves, even prisoners of war, he would be very glad if something could be done to meet them so as to let them go home as soon as possible to their wives and families.

The SECRETARY OF STATE: I beg General Botha to put himself in our place. Our desire is to get rid of them as soon as we possibly can, it is to our interest. We do not want to keep all these gentlemen who have been sent to St. Helena or Ceylon, they are costing us a great deal of money so that we are too glad to send them off just as soon as we possibly can; but, as he knows, we have already done much more than we thought would be possible at the time the agreement was come to. I forget the exact numbers, but one-third of the whole of the prisoners has already been sent home and we are sending the others as fast as we possibly can. About 9,000 prisoners have already been sent back and the result has been that at this moment there has been a congestion in South Africa—I mean difficulties of transport and providing food and so on, and Lord Milner has telegraphed to us that he wishes us to stay our hands a little, but that has nothing to do with the desire to keep these men longer than we possibly can do, it has only to do with the difficulties of transport and repatriation. With reference to that I know we had some correspondence on the subject. I think General De Wet had some near relations at St. Helena. Those had been sent home.

The INTERPRETER: General De Wet says his son arrived two days before he left South Africa.

The SECRETARY OF STATE: We endeavoured to secure that there should be no difficulty in hastening their return.

The INTERPRETER: General Botha says he would like to know whether the oath of allegiance was still asked of those prisoners of war?

The SECRETARY OF STATE: They have, as they have had almost from the first, the choice of taking the oath or a declaration which was approved of before the Generals left South Africa.

The INTERPRETER: General de Wet says that his children told him that the oath was demanded of them, and he said that in case they refused that they would not be allowed to leave St. Helena at all.

The SECRETARY OF STATE: That was at the commencement and before any objection was taken to the oath. The Generals will remember that according to the terms of peace——

The INTERPRETER: General de Wet says that on the 16th June he drafted the declaration with Major Goold-Adams. I believe on the 4th July the oath was still demanded from his children in St. Helena.

The SECRETARY OF STATE; Well I do not know how that is, but I will explain the matter at all events as we understand it. By Article 2 the burghers in the field and all prisoners of war who are burghers will on duly declaring their acceptance of the position of subjects of his Majesty King Edward VII. be gradually brought back to their homes. Well, now, the words "duly declaring their acceptance of the position of subjects of his Majesty King Edward VII." I think mean here, if legally interpreted, upon their taking the oath of allegiance, and accordingly in the first instance we asked that such an oath should be administered to all the prisoners of war. Then we understood the objection was taken by the Generals that they had understood that an oath would not be required, and that a declaration would be sufficient. We had no objection whatever to giving choice to all the prisoners of war whether they would take the oath or whether they would make a declaration. We did so on the authority of the Generals that a declaration would be just as sacred to their fellow burghers as an oath. Therefore, as General de Wet has said, we agreed to a form of declaration, and that was sent to us and signed on the 2nd July. It would not have had time to get out to St. Helena on the 4th of July, therefore it is quite possible that General de Wet's sons were asked to take the oath of allegiance on the 4th of July, but at the present time our instructions have now got out to all the camps, and in every case the prisoner can either take the oath the same as other British subjects, or he can make a declaration in the terms which have been agreed upon if he prefers it.

The INTERPRETER: General De Wet says that on the 23rd July there were four respectable burghers in gaol because they had refused to take the oath of allegiance. Major Goold Adams knew nothing about it, and when he brought it to the knowledge of Major Goold Adams they were released immediately.

The SECRETARY OF STATE: Quite so; that only proves what I say; that our intentions were clear. There may have been a mistake in a particular case, but if so, and upon complaint made, it was immediately redressed, and I would like to tell General De Wet I have here a copy of the telegram which was sent by Lord Milner to the Governors commanding the prisoners' camps in different parts of the world, including St Helena; and Lord Milner says (this was dated July 2nd), in telegraphing to the Governor of St. Helena: "I have added that if General De Wet's sons make this "declaration they should be sent home in the next batch of prisoners."

The INTERPRETER: General De Wet says that on the 4th day of July his sons were compelled to take the oath of allegiance if they wanted to return.

The SECRETARY OF STATE: There is the instruction that was sent on the 2nd July. It is possible that did not reach St. Helena by the 4th of July, but there is the instruction.

The INTERPRETER: General De Wet says Lord Milner had promised him to cable the despatch at once.

The SECRETARY OF STATE: Yes, Lord Milner promised and Lord Milner kept his promise, as he always does. Here is the telegram sent on the 2nd July, having special reference to the General's sons.

The INTERPRETER: One cable was sent direct to General De Wet's son by the General himself. General Botha says you will excuse him talking openly and frankly to you, but he says he was very dissatisfied on the point, and it is a good thing that he was six thousand miles away from this office, otherwise you would have had him here every day during the time.

The SECRETARY OF STATE: I am very glad that the General should speak frankly to me, but I do not understand why, after my explanation, he should have any dissatisfaction, because it is evident that at the moment he and his friends made this representation we agreed to an arrangement which was satisfactory to them, and we telegraphed it out the same day, I believe, that the agreement was come to, to all the Governors in all the encampments. What more could we have done?

The INTERPRETER: General Botha says he does not blame you, sir, not here, but they had this telegram before Lord Milner for a long time, and he refused to send it through to the camps, and Lord Milner told them:— "Since the people are taking the oath of allegiance, why should I send such "a telegram?" and in the meanwhile the Generals got wires from Bermuda and elsewhere to say that the prisoners refused to take the oath of allegiance unless they, the leaders, told them to take it. No telegram then could go through, and only weeks after that Lord Milner consented.

The SECRETARY OF STATE: Well, I think General Botha is under a misapprehension. This telegram is from Lord Milner to me; it is dated July 3rd, and he says:

> "I have just" (that means immediately, just lately), "after some lengthy discussions, arrived at an understanding with the Generals and have sent the following telegram from them to all prisoners' camps through the Governors of the several Colonies and the Viceroy of India."

Now, of course, I quite understand that in the first instance there was a certain delay while Lord Milner was discussing the point with the Generals and communicating with us and getting our authority, but, as I understand, Lord Milner's telegram which contained the messages from the Generals to the prisoners was sent off, and it was sent off officially, and therefore took precedence of every other telegram.

The INTERPRETER: General Botha says he would like to ask a question on Article 3 of the Terms of Surrender. That Article reads, those burghers who come in or who are brought back in that way will be granted their personal freedom and their property.

The SECRETARY OF STATE: Yes.

The INTERPRETER: General Botha says there is one point upon which he would like to have your support, Sir. He says he does not know whether it is so, but he has seen in the papers that there is an intention by Lord Milner of selling farms belonging to burghers.

The SECRETARY OF STATE: No, there is not the slightest foundation for that.

The INTERPRETER: General Botha says it will be obligatory on a man where he has a big farm to sell a portion of the ground.

The SECRETARY OF STATE: No, I think he is under a misapprehension; but I will explain the only thing that can give rise to what he has heard. There was a proposal, but it has not yet been carried out, to take powers in the Transvaal and the new Colonies, which are very common in all countries, both here and in the colonies, to compulsorily acquire pieces of land upon a basis of their full value. The reason is this: suppose that you want to make a railway, you cannot make the railway if every private owner of property is able to say, "You shall not go through my land." Therefore, in every case, power is given to take compulsorily the property which is necessary for the making of any great public work. And a power of that kind which already exists, I think, which existed in the late Government, is particularly necessary in the Transvaal if we are hereafter to do anything in the way of irrigation. And the only power which has been taken, up to the present time, is to be allowed to take land for public purposes on payment of the full compensation.

The INTERPRETER: General Botha says that lands will not be expropriated in the way, for instance, to colonise the country.

The SECRETARY OF STATE: At present no power has been taken for that purpose. What may be considered hereafter I could not say, but at present no powers of that kind have been taken. In one of the self-governing colonies where we have no control whatever—I mean the Colony of New Zealand—powers of that kind have been found advantageous in the interests of the whole community, and the object of them was to break up very large estates and to enable a larger number of persons to reside on the land—in fact, to secure the interests of the majority. We have a similar law in this country—in England. If people want small holdings of land and cannot get them, there are powers by which the local authorities can, on payment of full compensation, take sufficient land from an estate, provided it does not damage the estate, to provide for the small holdings.

The INTERPRETER: General Botha says that he merely mentioned the point because the people feel very uncertain since that point has been raised. They feel as if they had no security whatever for their property, and he hopes that you will not raise that point until self-government has been granted.

The SECRETARY OF STATE: I hope that we shall give them no cause for dissatisfaction. Any proposal of that kind, if it ever is made, will be published and well known to everybody before it is enforced, and they would have an opportunity of making any remarks or criticisms, either to me or to the local Government, that they desired.

The INTERPRETER: General Botha begs to thank you for that. In connexion with this point he says he understands several farms have been sold under the Proclamation of the 7th August in the late Orange Free State, and he would like to know whether there is any possibility of giving back these farms to the former owners?

The SECRETARY OF STATE: I inquired into the matter, and I believe that the farms sold for very good prices, and I am not certain whether the former owners would wish to have the farms or whether they would wish to have the money.

The INTERPRETER: General De Wet says that they were sold for very low prices. He knows some of the farms personally. He says that as to one of the burghers who surrendered at a time he was in a position to tell him what his farm fetched, and Lord Milner said he could get the money but not the farm. The burgher said that was not half the value of the farm, and it was all he had.

The SECRETARY OF STATE: Some of the farms were sold to private individuals; it is impossible to recover them in that case; but three, I think, were sold to the Government, and I am willing, if the Generals desire it, to ask Lord Milner whether he cannot arrange to re-transfer the farms bought by the Government to the private owners, if they desire to have them back.

GENERAL DE WET: Thank you, thank you.

The INTERPRETER: General Botha says with regard to Article 4 there were three cases of acts contrary to the usage of war which were specially kept out, mentioned. Now we see from the papers that there are several other cases. Some people have been put in gaol, and there is a case there, and a case there, all brought up.

LORD KITCHENER: Impossible.

The INTERPRETER: There is the case of Moseley. General De Wet says this man Moseley lived in the district of Volkstroom. Now, five officers, three commandants, a field cornet, and another one had been kept in gaol and tried, and he saw in the paper that the case had been postponed from Saturday to Monday.

LORD KITCHENER: Is it for a charge which took place during the war?

GENERAL BOTHA: Yes; Moseley was shot during the war by our side. He was brought up and shot, and now the people who arrested Moseley at the time are brought up and placed in gaol.

The SECRETARY OF STATE: And they were not in the list Lord Kitchener supplied?

LORD KITCHENER: No, they were not. I should like to see the papers on the case; if it is as stated by General de Wet, it appears to me to be a case that should not have been tried.

The SECRETARY OF STATE: If the Generals will kindly give me, if they can, the names and the full particulars I will telegraph at once, and, undoubtedly, if these persons are being tried for acts committed during the war, and were not on Lord Kitchener's list, that shall be put right, and your present statement, as I understand, is made on the authority of a newspaper paragraph?

GENERAL BOTHA: Yes.

The SECRETARY OF STATE: We are very careful about acting upon newspaper paragraphs.

The INTERPRETER: General De Wet says it is a Bloemfontein paper, and the evidence of the witnesses also appears in the same paper.

The SECRETARY OF STATE: At once we will look into it*; at once by telegraph if you will kindly send us the particulars.

The INTERPRETER: General Botha says that with regard to Article 10 of the Terms of Surrender with regard to the 3,000,000*l.*, there is great dissatisfaction about the composition of those Commissioners appointed by the Government. This is one of the points in which it seems as if they are not trusted in this matter, and people are placed in responsible positions over others that seems to him unnecessary.

The SECRETARY OF STATE: I do not understand.

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* *See* No 11.

The INTERPRETER: General Botha says the people are appointed to these commissions who ought not to be appointed to them.

LORD KITCHENER: Go on.

The SECRETARY OF STATE: Yes, perhaps the General will go on.

The INTERPRETER: General Botha says there is a strong feeling between the ordinary burgher and the National Scouts, and it will take time before the feeling wears off. The National Scouts amount to about 6,000 or 7,000 men, and the burghers, including the prisoners of war, amount to about 55,000 men. On these commissions six men are appointed—on each of these two or three National Scouts are appointed, or if not National Scouts men who surrendered before. He says further that these 55,000 men are only represented by one man on each commission. In consequence of this some people say they do not want to go there at all, and the composition of this commission causes unnecessary friction. In addition, a captain of constabulary is also appointed. The General's own feeling in the matter is that men with practical experience in the country should be appointed on the commissions.

The SECRETARY OF STATE: Well, in the first place, as to the National Scouts, I cannot believe that the General expects that the British Government will treat those who fought with them, or did not fight against them, worse than those who fought against them. I am quite sure that if the circumstances had been reversed they would have felt that loyalty required them to be true to those who had supported them, and it is the same thing with us; we must be true to those who supported us. But although that is a principle which we must lay down, it is not the fact that the National Scouts, or those who surrendered in the early portion of the war, have been represented in any much larger proportion than others. They have been placed with others—the burghers who surrendered later—upon commissions, but taking the average the proportion is not much larger than the rightful proportion according to mere numbers. And now as regards the constabulary, that is a different case altogether. There, I think, it of the utmost importance, in the interest of good government and good feeling, that the head of the constabulary in each district should be on the Commission. We want the constabulary to be the friends of the people. Among their other objects they have to protect them in the case of any difficulty with natives, or with persons who are not trustworthy, and we want them to be on the most friendly relations with the people. We think that they will learn to know their circumstances, and that they will be a sort of eyes and ears for the Government to know of complaints that may be made, and to see that the people, even in the most distant districts, are treated fairly and generously and, therefore, in a matter of this kind, where the object is a beneficent one, and where the work of repatriation is to go on we think the Captain of the Constabulary in each district is the person above all others who ought to be on the Commission. Well, then, with regard to the third remark of the General I entirely agree with him; that is to say, I agree with him that there ought to be on this Commission a local farmer thoroughly acquainted with the circumstances of the district, and the industrial conditions with which he has to deal, and if he will now or hereafter bring to my notice, or to the notice of Lord Milner, a case of any single commission upon which there is not such a person of experience and knowledge and local agricultural knowledge we shall be very much obliged to him and will try and alter it at once.

The INTERPRETER: General Botha says he has touched upon this point because he knows there is great dissatisfaction with regard to it. He says it would not be right on his part, either to the people there or to yourself, if he did not tell you about the dissatisfaction. Look at the names of the men who have been appointed published in the papers. He agrees with you, sir, that he cannot expect you to place the National Scouts and the men who surrendered early in the war behind themselves, but where possible he says he thinks that he has a right to ask you not to give these men precedence and

preference or put them in a position above the other burghers. When he looks at the composition of those commissions he thinks that they have a right to complain to be dissatisfied with these people. Many of them had not been farmers at all, they had been boarding-house keepers, and others, and they have now turned these people out of their farms, and that is what he thinks and what he feels, and he hopes you will not take it amiss that he states it.

The SECRETARY OF STATE: Well, if he will be kind enough only to let me have an illustration of what he means and explain what exception he takes to the composition in those cases I will have the matter enquired into. Of course, according to my information at the present time, the complaints which he makes are not justified. But if he will be good enough to specify them in any particular case which he will bring to my notice I will have enquiries made at once.

The INTERPRETER: General Botha will send it. Then about the state of affairs in the districts Vryheid and Utrecht.

The SECRETARY OF STATE: I am afraid I cannot regard that as a matter for discussion. It was settled before the terms of the Convention were agreed upon.

The INTERPRETER: General Botha says that the people want to trek away—move away from there, and he has asked them to remain until they hear from him.

The SECRETARY OF STATE: I should be sorry if they were to leave the country, and I think they will make a great mistake. I would suggest to General Botha that he should advise them to remain, and at all events see what their position is. As a matter of fact they will be better off than the Transvaal, because they will have entire self-government immediately. From the day that their transfer is completed they will be portions of the Natal community, having votes exactly the same as everybody else; they would be electing their own Government.

The INTERPRETER: General Botha says that he lives in the district himself, and he does not see a chance of remaining. The General says that we have given in to the British Government now, and we will show in deeds that we wish to live in peace in South Africa. He hopes you will not take it amiss his saying so, but the feeling that the Natal people of English descent have against the Boers is so strong that he cannot feel that he can live in Natal, and that is what is felt in the district of Vryheid. We have lived together with the people of Natal ever since those districts were populated, and he speaks of what he knows; they have always associated with the people of Natal.

The SECRETARY OF STATE: Yes, but I hope that he will not prejudge the matter. He must remember that now the Boers in Natal will form a much larger proportion of the voters than they have done before. They must of necessity be a very important body, and their opinions must be listened to in any self-governing Colony; they will have influence if they are unjustly treated, they will have political influence to secure them relief. I do not think myself that it is possible that with such numbers as they will have they can be down-trodden or in any way unjustly used.

The INTERPRETER: General Botha says, of course, he would have been glad if there had been a chance, but if the thing is passed there is nothing more to be said about it. The General says that he cannot remain there. The General says he would like to know whether there is not a chance now since peace has been declared for martial law to be done away with in the Colonies.

The SECRETARY OF STATE: Yes, I do not think that it is likely to be continued very much longer.

The INTERPRETER: General Botha says he is very glad because they cannot very well agree with martial law in time of peace. General De Wet says he is very glad to hear it, Sir, and he would just wish to say this, that there is a feeling amongst the Boers now that we made peace three months ago, and it seems the Boers have made peace but you have not yet made peace. There is a feeling of that kind.

The SECRETARY OF STATE; I should be sorry on an occasion like this to enter into any discussion which would be exceedingly controversial, but General De Wet must not take it that I agree with him at all.

The INTERPRETER: There is only one point more, Sir, and that is with regard to those burghers who have attained their rights of burghership since the war.

The SECRETARY OF STATE: Yes.

The INTERPRETER: General Botha says there had been people in South Africa fighting in Kaffir wars, and there was a resolution adopted in the Volksraad that these people obtained burgher rights who fought in these wars. Now, there were men who came to South Africa, emigrants of all nationalities, who had been in South Africa and obtained burgher rights in South Africa during the war. These people have forsworn their allegiance and they became burghers of the dual Republics.

LORD KITCHENER; But Lord Milner would never allow that.

The SECRETARY OF STATE: In the first place, gentlemen, of course this question concerns only foreigners. Now, I admit that while I have very great sympathy with those who were natives of the Transvaal, burghers of the Transvaal and the Orange River Colony, that were fighting against us, I have no sympathy at all with the foreigners who meddled in a quarrel which was not their own. And the state of the case with regard to them is that they were, in fact, bribed by a resolution of the Volksraad, which gave them the freedom as a reward for taking part in a conflict in which they were not concerned. This naturalisation was a gift to them in order that they should fight against us. At the same time they were not required to forswear their allegiance to their parent state, and at the present time I may mention that any German or Frenchman, or any foreigner, because I think it is the same in all countries —no foreigner who was naturalised under the resolution of the Volksraad has lost his own nationality, and therefore it is the intention of His Majesty's Government to treat all such persons as foreigners, and, accordingly, when they were prisoners of war they have been sent back, or allowed to go back, to their own countries, but we decline altogether to recognise them as burghers in South Africa.

The INTERPRETER; General Botha says it is a principle which is laid down in the Constitution which has been acted up to in all the preceding Kaffir wars, that in case of a war people who take part in the fighting against the enemies of the Republic have obtained burgher rights, and it does not only refer to people who come from Europe. Some of them had lived there for three or four years, in fact some for 10 or 12 years, and have obtained burgher rights in this way.

The SECRETARY OF STATE: But these men of whom you speak who have resided in the country for 12 years might have become burghers. They did not choose to; they did not want to; the burgher right was conferred upon them in view of a war which was then threatened—

those are the words of the resolution of the Volksraad, and the naturalisation was conferred upon them in order to cover them when they took sides with the then Governments. I am not blaming the Government of the Transvaal for an arrangement of that kind, but all I say is that our Government will not recognise them, and I imagine that when you refer to what took place in the Kaffir war if the Kaffirs had been victorious they would not have recognised it either; we have not refused to recognise those who were naturalised before the war, but we have refused to recognise those who were naturalised in view of the war, and who received the gift as an inducement to them to take up arms against us; those we treat as foreigners, that is all.

The INTERPRETER: General Botha says that is all he can tell you now or rather that he may tell you. There are other points upon which he is not allowed to speak at the present time, and he hopes that you will not take it amiss if at some future time the Generals put on paper some of those points that he would have liked to have made personally, and he thinks that because he thinks it will conduce greatly to the good administration of the country and the general satisfaction in South Afaica. Of course we look to you for help, and the 3,000,000*l.* he does not think would be at all adequate to help the people. Something might be done with regard to the widows and orphans. That is one of those points. You have got so many assets in the country.

The SECRETARY OF STATE: Well, I think we had better not enter upon discussion in detail upon points of that kind. I would only remind the General that we have undertaken many obligations already, more than has ever been undertaken before in similar circumstances. I do not wish to enter into any discussion, any elaborate discussion, but I will take one case. The General suggests that we might make provision for the widows and orphans of those who have been killed of those who have fought against us. Well, in my time I recollect very well the great Civil War in America, and I appeal to that, because that stands out as a case in which more than ever before, or indeed, ever since, the victor, the conqueror, showed a magnanimous and generous feeling to the conquered. There was good reason for it, because they were brothers, of the same race, the same religion, the same everything. It was a Civil War, but even in that case the Northern side, that is to say the victorious side, made no provision whatever, either by way of grant or pension or allowances, to people who had been wounded—to the side that had been conquered. They gave them their lives, they gave them their liberties, and after a period of about ten years they gave them their votes, but they did not give them any money compensation. But we have gone one step beyond that, because we have contributed, in addition to all our own enormous expenses, a very large sum to relieve those who are really destitute in our new Colonies. We have done more than, I think, was expected of us, and we have done all that we can afford to do, and I think it would be undesirable that the Generals should press us any further in the matter either now or in writing.

As regards the general statement which he has made, I desire to reciprocate it. We want, in this country at any rate, to forget and to forgive, because if you think, as you well may, that you have something to forgive, we also think that we have a great deal to forgive; but we want to put all that on one side. The war is over. We each of us fought as well as we knew how during the war. Now there is peace. All we want is to recognise you as fellow subjects with ourselves, working, as we shall work, for the prosperity and the liberty of South Africa. How great that liberty is, how soon complete self-government is extended to South Africa depends entirely upon the rapidity with which the old animosities die out. Anything in the nature of recrimination nowadays would be an injury, and would tend to delay the complete pacification which I think we both desire. We shall certainly show trust in you whenever you will show trust in us. We shall be very glad of your co-operation, and of the co-operation of men like yourselves who have loyally accepted the new situation in securing that your special views and ideas are, at all events, represented in the Government, as well as those of other sections

of the population. We want South Africa to be a happy abiding place for all who live in it, not for one class alone, not for one section, for one race, or for one political party, but for all, and our duty is to regard the interest of all, and we desire that no section should be entirely unrepresented. I am sure that if you meet us half way you will find us to be in the future quite as good friends as we have been, I hope, loyal enemies in the past.

I should say that I propose, as soon as we can, to print our correspondence, and the report of this meeting. I think it is desirable, that you would desire, and we all desire, that there should be no secrecy, and that everybody should know, at any rate, what you have put forward and what we have replied.

The INTERPRETER: Yes. General Botha says it would be a good idea. Would you kindly also furnish him with a copy of the minutes?

The SECRETARY OF STATE: Certainly.

The Boer Generals then withdrew.

No. 11.

COLONIAL OFFICE TO GENERAL LOUIS BOTHA.

SIR, Downing Street, September 8, 1902.

I AM directed by Mr. Secretary Chamberlain to inform you that after the interview which you had with him on the 5th instant, he telegraphed to Lord Milner drawing his attention to your statements* with regard to the trial of certain persons for shooting a Mr. Moseley, and I am to acquaint you that Lord Milner has now replied that the matter was brought to his notice some time ago and proceedings were stopped, and the prisoners charged with the murder of Moseley were released.

I am, &c.,
FRED. GRAHAM.

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* *See* page 19.

SOUTH AFRICA.

7

CORRESPONDENCE

RELATING TO THE

APPEAL OF THE BOER GENERALS TO THE CIVILIZED WORLD.

Presented to both Houses of Parliament by Command of His Majesty.
November, 1902.

8X-K-24

LONDON:
PRINTED FOR HIS MAJESTY'S STATIONERY OFFICE,
By DARLING & SON, Ltd., 34-40, Bacon Street, E.

And to be purchased, either directly or through any Bookseller, from
EYRE & SPOTTISWOODE, East Harding Street, Fleet Street, E.C.,
and 32, Abingdon Street, Westminster, S.W.;
or OLIVER & BOYD, Edinburgh;
or E. PONSONBY, 116, Grafton Street, Dublin.

1902.

[Cd. 1329.] *Price* 1½*d.*

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